

E R.

CONFIDENTIAL



PC/10/6

cc. PS/Mr Bloomfield ✓  
Mr Fell  
Mr Reeve  
Mr Pearson

Mr Bell (SIL)

2 POL 11/2

IRISH AMERICAN UNITY CONFERENCE

Mr Fell drew my attention to the note sent by Mr Shinwald of the IAUC Conference in August about the proposed extradition treaty and MacBrides. I was surprised at the absence of any Embassy comment; I was also surprised that the original appeared to have no security classification (although it has been marked Confidential in Belfast).

Mr Fell told me that in a recent conversation with Sam Bartlett he had been surprised to hear Bartlett refer to the IAUC as "pretty green, but okay". It was not at all clear that Bartlett was aware of the sort of background set out in the note which Mr Shinwald had sent. You may therefore think it worthwhile checking out whether the Embassy and the State Department have a common view of this organisation.

P CARVILL  
Central Secretariat  
10 October 1985  
/JH

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1) copy to  
Mr Wilson  
DEC



Mr Barker 100  
Mr Reeve P00

2) Mr Bell vs re

With the compliments of  
THE BRITISH EMBASSY

3) Mr Horn.

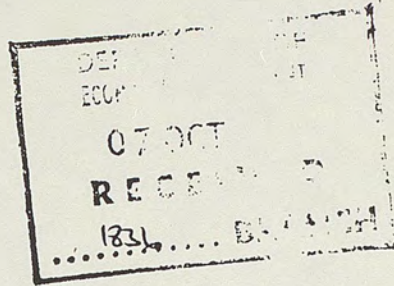
N E Sheinwald

WASHINGTON, D.C.

11/10/85  
Copy to  
Mr Barker  
Mr Reeve  
Mr Horn  
11/10/85

cc Mr Canwill

11/10/85  
Copy to  
Mr Barker  
Mr Reeve  
Mr Horn  
11/10/85



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3) p- (Extradition Treaty) this is a p- 4/4/75  
IRISH AMERICAN UNITY CONFERENCE STRATEGY MEETING PHILADELPHIA  
24-25 AUGUST: EXTRADITION TREATY AND MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES  
ND 19/ix

The IAUC held a two-day "conference" on 24 and 25 August at the Ramada Inn in Fort Washington, Pennsylvania just outside Philadelphia. There was a three hour organisational meeting on Saturday, a three and a half hour strategy session on Sunday. We had a contact present throughout the strategy session -- Steve Ryan who was briefed carefully beforehand. This minute gives an account of the IAUC meeting and is based on my debriefing of Mr Ryan.

2 The "Conference"

2.1 The 'Conference' was well advertised in the Irish Echo of the week ending 24 July. Despite this publicity, the attendance was poor. Only 18 were present. They included: Patsy O'Hagen, the IAUC Chairman for New York; Frank Cannon (IAUC - Fort Washington); Michael O'Finn (IAUC - Philadelphia); Michael White a New Jersey real estate appraiser (Noraid); Michael Duffey (Noraid - New York City\*); Mickey Walshe (Noraid - Florida); Mr Linnon (Noraid - New Jersey); Mrs Gong (IAUC - New Jersey). There was no representative from Connecticut.

2.2 Although the gathering was small, and there was much dissatisfaction with IAUC headquarters in San Antonio (see Section 7), the mood was upbeat and resolute.

2.3 The strategy session focused on how to defeat the Extradition Protocol, and how to secure passage of the MacBride Principles. There was also discussion of the IAUC's internal problems, its relationship with Noraid, and its intense rivalry with Father Sean McManus and the National Caucus.

3. The Extradition Protocol

It was clear that defeating the Extradition Protocol was the IAUC's top priority.

3.1 Congressional Tactics

- (a) They are targetting all moderate/liberal Senators concerned about South Africa offering them a quid pro quo: IAUC support on sanctions in return for Senatorial vote against the Extradition Agreement. In their lobbying IAUC are making the case that Northern Ireland and South Africa are both products of British colonialism and must be dealt with as a package.

\*Duffy boasted that he had helped procure weapons for the IRA.

/(b) ...



...not this channel as Tom Foley was not made explicit. Patsy O'Hagen discussed Foley's work on the Extradition Protocol as if she did not really know him. Nevertheless, it was clear from her remarks that Foley's advice and that of the IAUC is virtually identical, and that Foley enjoys O'Hagen's admiration and respect.

- (c) IAUC have also lobbied Senator Kennedy indirectly through his son Teddy Jr. Interestingly, despite their public rhetoric, IAUC do appear to accord Kennedy a special place in the Irish-American pantheon, and are reluctant to offend him.
- (d) More generally, IAUC are targetting every Congressman in the northeast whose majority is slender and whose seat is in danger. Their strategy is to offer assistance in the forthcoming campaign in return for letters to Senator Lugar expressing concern about the Extradition Treaty. They are urging Congressmen to write individually or sign on to the Biaggi letter. (Published in this week's "Irish People"). Their hope is that if enough Congressmen can be persuaded that they will have a Biaggi letter II. Congressmen under particular pressure include: Bruce Morrison (D - Connecticut) Smith (D - Pennsylvania).

(e) Legal Advice

The discussion highlighted the role of Paul O'Dwyer and the Brehon Law Society in New York in providing free legal counsel to the IAUC campaign. There are also plans to hire a "Mr Shea," a "trendy" international "human rights" lawyer as an adviser and lobbyist.

(f) Tactics Outside Congress

Here they have adopted a two part strategy to scare Irish-Americans and secure the support of other "interested" ethnic groups such as the Phillipinos. As their campaign intensifies the propaganda line to Irish-Americans will be that any member of the IAUC/Noraid is at risk, and that "partriot patriarchs" like Michael Flannery and George Harrison will be the first targets. To Phillipinos and other ethnic minorities the agreement will run "us now you later" -- a variation of the domino theory. Another general argument they will deploy is that the Treaty amendment is a threat to civil liberty and the "sunshine law"

/which



... "in secret to resist this agreement  
on the American public.

- (g) Finally, the meeting revealed a deep hatred of Father Sean McManus among the IAUC elite. The IAUC's grievance against McManus is that he has been upstaging them and stealing the credit for their leg work. There was evidence of intensive revalry between the IAUC and the INC; Patsy O'Hagen declared that she "hated McManus".

#### 4 The MacBride Principles/Disinvestment

The successful passage of the MacBride Principles is the second priority of IAUC. Interestingly, there was a heated argument over the priority accorded the MacBride Principles. One unidentified woman challenged Patsy O'Hagen arguing that the MacBride effort was diverting energy away from direct political action on British withdrawal. O'Hagen argued back vigorously but the decisive intervention came from Michael White (Noraid -New Jersey) who ended the argument by saying that the MacBride Principles legitimised the republican cause in America to such a degree that the British and Irish Governments had difficulty in branding them a bunch of terrorists. This sentiment was echoed on many occasions throughout the afternoon.

##### 4.2 Tactics for the Coming Year

IAUC's goal is to target every "marginal" state legislator they can in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York and possibly Florida and New Jersey. (IAUC appeared to be thin on the ground in the latter two states with insufficient hard core activists to recruit an effective lobby). They are carefully studying the 1984 election returns and researching those State and City authorities with pension fund investments in companies with subsidiaries in Northern Ireland. Logically, they have decided on a simple formula to guide their lobbying effort: any State legislator or City Councilman in a weak position will be targetted with multiple letters over the next 6 months. Multiple phone calls -- often by the same person -- will be made in an attempt to make it appear that they have more support than they really have.

##### 4.3 Albany, New York City, and Philadelphia

Albany has the highest priority in next year's drive. This year O'Hagen began lobbying early and gambled on spending a large proportion of IAUC's New York funds on a luncheon. Eighty legislators attended; the cost was just over \$2,000. IAUC also held a St Patrick's Day party for the same legislators at a further cost of \$1,000. O'Hagen thought up this "wine and dine" strategy designed to flatter the egos and fill the stomachs of legislators whom she described contemptuously/"bovine". "All those stupid legislators care about is getting drunk at a party" she declared. Tactically, O'Hagen avoided Senate Majority Leader Warren Anderson and was careful to keep a low profile in Albany. O'Hagen saw Anderson as "the enemy" and feared his legislative power. John Dearie

/was ...

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made in heaven" as she put it and it was he who provided all the necessary introductions. Their main target in the next two-three months will be those State Senators in a weak position in 1986.

4.4 Interestingly, Mr Ryan noted an O'Hagen comment on the role of the Irish Consulate in Albany to the effect that our Irish colleagues persuaded Assemblyman James F Brennan to attempt to introduce a total disinvestment Bill designed to discredit the IAUC and their Bill. "the subterfuge of the enemy" O'Hagen described it.

4.5 Their message over the next two - three months in Albany will be that they don't want disinvestment "merely a set of Sullivan like principles" which will appear "as American as apple pie and which no one can say no to." (O'Hagen). The reality behind the rhetoric is more sinister. First, they are very aware that the MacBride Principles will deter US investment in Northern Ireland and that is one of their main objectives. Second, passage of the MacBride Principles will facilitate disinvestment later should they wish to go that route. Third, they have watched closely the damage being done to South Africa's economy -- the loss of confidence etc -- by the threat of economic sanctions and have drawn encouragement from it.

4.6 In New York City they have relaxed their efforts and have left matters largely with Harrison Goldin "very much our friend". They targetted him heavily with information, but were not now lobbying since Goldin was "doing a lot of work" for them.

4.7 In Philadelphia O'Finn and Cannon were lobbying Councilmen Ortiz and Rafferty in an effort to get a MacBride resolution introduced, but because of Mayor Goode's position on the issue they were getting nowhere.

## 5 The IAUC - Noraid Link

The Noraid members present, particularly Duffy, White and Gray expressed their appreciation to Patsy O'Hagen and the IAUC for helping their recruitment efforts. White stated that the IAUC served Noraid by getting people involved in the movement, and by getting them to meet Noraid members at social and political events. He added that too many Irish-Americans saw Noraid as "hoods"; the Unity Conference helped Noraid overcome this image problem. IAUC was Noraid's avenue to respectability.

## 6 The South African Dimension

IAUC are actively cultivating the anti-apartheid groups in New York City and Philadelphia. They have planned a joint rally in Philadelphia on 11 and 12 October and are inviting anti-apartheid activists to the Irish Solidarity Day in New York on 21 September.

6.2 Interestingly, an IAUC draft press release on the "MacBride/Sullivan Principles" had to be hastily withdrawn when militant anti-apartheid activists in Philadelphia objected. Apparently the IAUC knew so little about the South African situation that they imagined

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7 The IAUC; Internal Difficulties

The Philadelphia strategy session highlighted IAUC's internal divisions and lack of coordination between its national office and regional branches.

Points of Interest

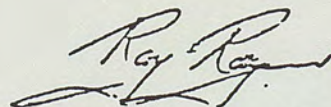
7.1 San Antonio headquarters were completely unaware that any meeting was taking place in Philadelphia.

7.2 The two points of conflict between San Antonio and the regional branches are money and publicity. At the meeting there was considerable dissatisfaction at the degree to which national headquarters was siphoning off local membership dues and giving little back in return. The complaint was made that San Antonio was now taking 40 percent of the dues and had not yet produced the publicity campaign it had promised.

8 Comment

The Embassy are best qualified to put this raw information in its proper perspective, but some preliminary comment from here may be of some value.

8.1 Does one laugh or cry at this account of the IAUC "strategy" session? On the one hand, it reveals a sophisticated political mind at work. As we suspected, the effort to lobby for the MacBride Principles is certainly planned and coordinated. But the juxtaposition of professionalism and amateurishness, naivete and cunning is bewildering. Interestingly, the contrast between the grandiose public posturing and the infinitesimal numbers of activists behind it confirms our existing impressions of "organised" Irish-America. Rarely, have so many been so aggravated by so few.



Ray Raymond

12 September 1985

See Annex attached